

Message Text

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TAGS: MO, MASS, XA, OVIP (KATHERINE GRAHAM, KING HASSAN II)

SUBJECT: HOAGLAND ARTICLES IN WASHINGTON POST ON
KATHERINE GRAHAM'S AUDIENCE WITH KING HASSAN

1. HOAGLAND REPORTS ON GRAHAM AUDIENCE LATE IN WEEK OF
MAY 22 APPEAR IN MAY 28 AND 29 EDITIONS OF WASHINGTON
POST. HASSAN REPORTEDLY INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO SEND
TROOPS TO ZAIRE BUT MADE CLEAR "I WILL NOT GO THERE ALONE
AGAIN." KING ALSO REPORTED TO HAVE INVITED AMBASSADOR
ANDREW YOUNG TO COME TO MOROCCO ON HIS NEXT AFRICAN TRIP;
TO HAVE VOICED WILLINGNESS FOR A NEW BUT LIMITED ROLE FOR
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THE UN IN THE WESTERN SAHARA; AND TO HAVE EXPRESSED ASSUMPTION
THAT U.S. COULD PROCEED WITH SALE OF HELICOPTERS AND AIR-
CRAFT TO MOROCCO NOW THAT ARMS FOR EGYPT, ISRAEL, AND
SAUDI ARABIA HAVE CLEARED CONGRESS.

2. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF HOAGLAND ARTICLE IN MAY 28 POST:
BEGIN TEXT: FEZ, MOROCCO - KING HASSAN II HAS DECLARED
THAT MOROCCO WILL SEND COMBAT TROOPS "TO RESTORE ORDER" IN
ZAIRE'S STRIFE-TORN SHABA PROVINCE ONLY IF OTHER AFRICAN
COUNTRIES JOIN IN FORMING AN EMERGENCY MILITARY FORCE

FOR ZAIRE.

"I WILL NOT GO THERE ALONE AGAIN," THE MOROCCAN MONARCH SAID IN AN INTERVIEW WITH KATHARINE GRAHAM, PUBLISHER OF THE WASHINGTON POST. HE EMPHASIZED THAT HE WOULD REFUSE TO SEND MOROCCAN UNITS ALONE TO ZAIRE AS HE DID IN 1977, WHEN HE HELPED PRESIDENT MOBUTU SESE SEKO RECONQUER SHABA.

"WE ARE WILLING TO SEND TROOPS," THE KING SAID DURING A 90-MINUTE DISCUSSION AT THE ROYAL PALACE, "BUT WE WANT FRIENDLY COUNTRIES NEIGHBORING ZAIRE ALSO TO MAKE AT LEAST A SYMBOLIC EFFORT TO SHOW THAT IT IS NOT A PROBLEM THAT CONCERNS ONLY PRESIDENT MOBUTU AND ME. IT IS A STRATEGIC PROBLEM FOR THE ENTIRE REGION."

MOBUTU, WHO IS DUE TO ARRIVE HERE FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH HASSAN TOMORROW, INDICATED IN PARIS THURSDAY THAT HE WAS COUNTING ON MOROCCO TO SEND FIVE UNITS OF COMBAT TROOPS IMMEDIATELY TO PROTECT THE BATTERED MINING TOWN OF KOLWEZI FROM A RESURGENCE OF GUERRILLA ATTACKS THAT COST THE LIVES OF AT LEAST 260 WHITES AND AFRICANS EARLIER THIS MONTH.

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A FAILURE BY THE MOROCCANS TO COME TO THE AIDE OF MOBUTU A SECOND TIME COULD BE A CRIPPLING BLOW FOR HIS REGIME. THE FRENCH, BELGIAN, AMERICAN AND AFRICAN WORKERS WHO RAN SHABA'S COPPER AND COBALT MINES, WHICH ARE VITAL TO ZAIRE'S FLAGGING ECONOMY, ARE CERTAIN TO REFUSE TO RETURN TO WORK AS LONG AS THERE IS NOT A STRONG PROTECTIVE FORCE IN THE FIELD TO SUPPORT THE ZAIRIAN ARMY.

IN ANOTHER COMMENT THAT SOUNDED A NEW NOTE OF CAUTION AND CONCERN ABOUT WESTERN SUPPORT FOR "MODERATE" GOVERNMENTS IN AFRICA, THE NORMALLY ACTIVIST HASSAN VOICED SHARP OPPOSITION TO THE IDEA OF A PERMANENT ALL-AFRICAN PEACEKEEPING FORCE THAT WOULD INTERVENE IN CASES LIKE THE INVASION OF SHABA BY KATANGAN REBELS BASED IN ANGOLA.

"MODERATE" AFRICAN COUNTRIES COULD FORM SUCH A FORCE, HE SAID, BUT IT WOULD TRIGGER A MOVE BY MORE RADICAL STATES, WITH LARGER ARMIES, "TO FORM ANOTHER INTER-AFRICAN FORCE ... MUCH MORE POWERFUL THAN THE MODERATES" AND ABLE TO COUNT ON THE SOVIET BLOC FOR MORE SUPPORT THAN THE WEST WOULD GIVE ITS ALLIES.

"THE OTHER SIDE'S ALLIES WOULD NOT SHOW THE SHYNESS OF THE WEST AND THEY WOULD NOT FAIL TO EQUIP THE FORCE IN SUCH A WAY AS TO THREATEN THE BALANCE IN AFRICA," HASSAN SAID.

SEATED IN AN EASY CHAIR AT ONE END OF AN IMMENSE RECEPTION HALL FRAMED BY MOORISH ARCHES AND ORNATE MOSAIC FRIEZES, THE 48-YEAR-OLD KING SPOKE IN RELAXED TONES THROUGHOUT THE DISCUSSION. HE WORE AN ELEGANTLY TAILORED FRENCH SUMMER SUIT AND SIPPED A CUP OF STRONG BLACK COFFEE.

IN THE SECTION OF THE INTERVIEW DEVOTED TO THE "SECOND SHABA WAR," AS THIS MONTH'S BLOODSHED IN KOLWEZI HAS UNCLASSIFIED

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BEEN DUBBED BY THE LOCAL NEWS MEDIA, THE KING DID NOT MASK HIS CHAGRIN OVER THE DIPLOMATIC FALLOUT OF HIS 1977 DECISION TO SEND 1,200 MOROCCAN TROOPS TO HELP MOBUTU'S DISINTEGRATING ARMY FIGHT THE KATANGANS. THE MOROCCANS STAYED IN SHABA FOR TWO MONTHS IN 1977.

"MANY COUNTRIES CRITICIZED OUR ACTION AT FIRST. LATER, THEY CAME AND SAID A BIG THANK YOU, BUT ALWAYS PRIVATELY, NEVER IN PUBLIC. THEY DIDN'T HAVE THE COURAGE OF THEIR BELIEF. NOW, WE WANT THEM TO STAND BEHIND THEIR BELIEF, AND TO SEND HELP WITH US. OTHERWISE ... PEOPLE WILL SAY MOROCCO IS JUST A TROUBLEMAKER, SENDING ITS TROOPS THOUSANDS OF MILES AWAY TO BOTHER PEOPLE."

THE KING CAREFULLY REFRAINED FROM DISCUSSING HIS VIEWS OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S ACTIONS IN AFRICA BUT DIPLOMATIC SOURCES SAID THAT HE WAS PARTICULARLY PAINED IN 1977 BY THE OPEN U.S. RELUCTANCE TO ENDORSE HIS RESCUE OPERATION FOR MOBUTU IN ITS FIRST STAGES.

MOROCCO'S MILITARY POWER ALSO APPEARS TO BE STRETCHED MORE THINLY NOW THAN IT WAS IN 1977 BY THE CONTINUING WAR AGAINST THE ALGERIAN-BACKED POLISARIO GUERRILLA MOVEMENT IN THE FORMER SPANISH SAHARA COLONY WHICH WAS ANNEXED BY MOROCCO AND MAURITANIA IN 1976. MOROCCO HAS 40,000 SOLDIERS, ABOUT HALF ITS ARMY, COMMITTED TO THE WAR, WHICH IS HAVING AN INCREASINGLY VISIBLE IMPACT ON THE ALREADY SLUMPING MOROCCAN ECONOMY.

IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION, HASSAN DENIED THAT MOROCCO HAD SENT 100 MOROCCAN TECHNICIANS AND ADVISERS TO ZAIRE LAST WEEK AS A NUCLEUS FOR THE AFRICAN PEACEKEEPING FORCE. UNCLASSIFIED

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"WE HAVE SENT ONLY ABOUT 30 MEN, AND THEY HAVE GONE TO PROTECT OUR EMBASSY IN KINSHASA. WE LEARNED THAT THE FIRST INVADERS INTO KOLWEZI CAME LOOKING ESPECIALLY FOR FRENCH AND MOROCCANS, AND WE DECIDED THAT THEY COULD TRY SOMETHING AGAINST OUR EMBASSY IN KINSHASA. THE MEN WE

HAVE SENT AREN'T COMBAT TROOPS."

MOROCCO "WILL PROVIDE TRAINING, TRANSPORT AND ADMINISTRATIVE HELP FOR ZAIRE, AND COMBAT TROOPS ALSO, BUT ONLY IF OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES TAKE THE STEPS NEEDED TO ORGANIZE A JOINT FORCE," HE SAID EMPHATICALLY.

CITING INTELLIGENCE REPORTS THAT HE HAD RECEIVED, THE KING SAID THIS YEAR'S ATTACK AT SHABA APPEARED TO BE AIMED AT SUBVERTING ZAIRE THROUGH A MAJOR SABOTAGE OPERATION RATHER THAN THROUGH THE KIND OF ORGANIZED GUERRILLA ATTACK THE MOROCCANS PUT DOWN IN 1977.

THIS YEAR, INSTEAD OF SWEEPING ACROSS THE ANGOLA-ZAIRE FRONTIER, SMALL GROUPS OF MEN INFILTRATED INTO THE COUNTRY-SIDE AROUND KOLWEZI OVER A THREE-OR FOUR-MONTH PERIOD, HE SAID, AND WERE LED IN THE CAPTURE OF KOLWEZI BY A GROUP OF ONLY 200 KATANGANS WHO CAME DIRECTLY FROM ANGOLA.
END TEXT.

3. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF HOAGLAND ARTICLE IN MAY 29 POST:
BEGIN TEXT: FEZ, MOROCCO - THEIR RED CAPES AND CEREMONIAL LANCES FLASHING IN THE BRIGHT NORTH AFRICAN SUN, TWO GUARDS AT THE ROYAL PALACE BURST INTO A CHANT AS KING HASSAN II APPROACHED THEIR POST ONE DAY LAST WEEK.

"GOD WATCH OVER HIS MAJESTY," THE GUARDS IMploRED AS THE KING PASSED INTO THE COURTYARD.

ONCE THE JAUNTIEST AND MOST SELF-ASSURED OF ARAB RULERS,
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THE MOROCCAN MONARCH TODAY TREADS THE PALACE GROUNDS, EXUDING A SOMBER, EVEN WORRIED, AIR. GOD MAY BE WATCHING OVER HIM, BUT THE KING HAS BEGUN TO BELIEVE IN RECENT MONTHS, THAT THE UNITED STATES NO LONGER IS.

AFTER TWO DECADES OF CLOSE COOPERATION AND UNQUESTIONING SUPPORT FROM WASHINGTON FOR HIS THRONE AND HIS POLICIES, HASSAN, 48, APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN SHAKEN BY THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S FAILURE TO RENEW A WARM AMERICAN EMBRACE THAT IN THE PAST RESULTED IN U.S. MILITARY BASE RIGHTS HERE AND DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT FOR AMERICAN OBJECTIVES IN AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST.

STILL HOPING TO REPAIR AN ALLIANCE THAT HE SEES AS STRATEGICALLY VITAL FOR BOTH COUNTRIES, HASSAN DECLINED DURING AN INTERVIEW FRIDAY WITH KATHARINE GRAHAM, PUBLISHER OF THE WASHINGTON POST, TO VOICE A DIRECT OPINION OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S FOREIGN POLICY "FOR FEAR OF OFFENDING FRIENDS BY BEING TOO FRANK."

BUT HIS NEW CONCERNS WERE EVIDENT IN ALL OF HIS REMARKS. HE INVITED ANDREW YOUNG TO VISIT MOROCCO ON HIS NEXT TRIP TO AFRICA SO THAT THE U.S. AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS COULD "GET A MORE CLEAR IDEA OF AFRICA." HASSAN ALSO SAID THAT HE HOPED A STATE VISIT TO WASHINGTON THAT HE CALLED OFF LAST DECEMBER COULD NOW BE RESCHEDULED.

ON THE OTHER SUBJECTS, KING HASSAN MADE THESE POINTS:

--ALTHOUGH HE WAS THE MOST VOCAL ARAB SUPPORTER OF EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT ANWAR SADAT'S 1977 PEACE INITIATIVE TO ISRAEL, HASSAN NOW BELIEVES "NOTHING WILL HAPPEN" AS LONG AS MENACHEM BEGIN HEADS THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT. THE ISRAELI
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RESPONSE TO SADAT'S MISSION "HAS GREATLY DISAPPOINTED ME," HE SAID.

--HASSAN VOICED WILLINGNESS FOR A NEW BUT LIMITED ROLE FOR THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE DISPUTED FORMER SPANISH SAHARA TERRITORY, WHERE THE MOROCCAN ARMY HAS BEEN FIGHTING FOR TWO YEARS AGAINST A GUERRILLA MOVEMENT SUPPORTED BY ALGERIA.

--THE WEST SHOULD STEP UP ARMS SUPPLIES AND TRAINING FOR FRIENDLY AFRICAN COUNTRIES TO KEEP PACE WITH GROWING SOVIET EFFORTS AND TO MAINTAIN A STRATEGIC BALANCE IN AFRICA THAT HASSAN BELIEVES IS BEING DESTROYED.

"WE DO NOT WANT A SINGLE AMERICAN SOLDIER. BUT WE DO NEED SOME (MATERIAL) HELP," HE SAID.

IN MANY WAYS, HASSAN'S DOUBTS ABOUT AMERICAN POLICY TYPIFY THOSE OF OTHER CONSERVATIVE OR MODERATE THIRD WORLD LEADERS WHO HAVE BEEN DISORIENTED BY THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S EFFORTS TO WOO RATHER THAN CONFRONT RADICAL STATES AND TO SELECTIVELY LESSEN INVOLVEMENT WITH SOME TRADITIONAL ALLIES.

BUT MOROCCO'S STRATEGIC POSITION AT A JUNCTION POINT FOR AFRICAN, MIDDLE EASTERN AND MEDITERRANEAN CONFLICTS GIVES THOSE DOUBTS SPECIAL WEIGHT AND, IN THE KING'S VIEW, URGENCY.

HE IS CLEARLY UNCOMFORTABLE AT BEING EXCLUDED FROM THE INNER CIRCLES OF AMERICAN FRIENDS ABROAD FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE HE CAME TO POWER IN 1961. HIS RULE, ENDANGERED TWICE BY NEARLY SUCCESSFUL COUP ATTEMPTS, HAS BEEN BOLSTERED BY A STILL SECRET MILITARY PACT WITH THE UNITED STATES THAT ESTABLISHED AMERICAN MILITARY BASES HERE.

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BUT THE PERMANENT AMERICAN MILITARY PRESENCE IN MOROCCO HAS BEEN GRADUALLY PHASED OUT. THE LAST IMPORTANT FACILITY THE KENITRA COMMUNICATIONS CENTER, IS DUE TO BE CLOSED BY SEPTEMBER 1.

THE LESSENING OF DIRECT AMERICAN INTERESTS HERE COMES JUST AS HASSAN HAD TURNED TO THE UNITED STATES FOR INCREASED HELP IN PUTTING DOWN A GUERRILLA WAR THAT IS INCREASINGLY DRAINING THE MOROCCAN ECONOMY. LATE LAST YEAR, THE MOROCCANS WERE REBUFFED BY WASHINGTON WHEN THEY ASKED TO BUY SLOW FLYING RECONNAISSANCE AND BOMBING BRONCO AIRCRAFT AND HELICOPTERS TO BE USED IN THE SAHARA WAR.

HASSAN LAST DECEMBER ABRUPTLY CALLED OFF A SCHEDULED VISIT TO WASHINGTON TO MEET CARTER WHEN IT BECAME CLEAR THAT THE ARMS PROPOSAL WOULD PROBABLY BE SHELVED.

HASSAN SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN TOLD THAT THE ADMINISTRATION SOUGHT TO DELAY SENDING THE ARMS REQUEST TO CONGRESS UNTIL AFTER THE PACKAGE OF WAR PLANES FOR SAUDI ARABIA, EGYPT AND ISRAEL HAS PASSED.

"I CAN'T SEE ANYTHING, LEGALLY AND OBJECTIVELY, THAT WOULD KEEP THE UNITED STATES FROM SELLING US THE HELICOPTERS" AND PLANES NOW, HE SAID, ADDING THAT HE HOPED A MEETING WITH CARTER COULD BE ARRANGED FOR EARLY AUTUMN "SO MY VIEW OF THE SITUATION CAN AT LEAST BE HEARD."

THE KING ALSO SHOWED A BROAD RANGE OF CONCERN ABOUT THE WAY THE UNITED STATES VIEWS ITS WORLD ROLE IN THE POST-VIETNAM PERIOD.
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"ANDREW YOUNG SHOULD NOT VISIT ONLY COUNTRIES LIKE RHODESIA WHERE THERE ARE PROBLEMS THAT GIVE AN ARTIFICIAL AND SUPERFICIAL VIEW OF AFRICA," HE SAID. "HE SHOULD VISIT SENEGAL, THE IVORY COAST, AND OTHER (MODERATE) COUNTRIES. HE SHOULD COME SEE US. THERE ARE GREAT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT REGIONS OF AFRICA. YOU CANNOT TREAT THE PEOPLE OF NIGERIA LIKE THE PEOPLE OF KENYA JUST BECAUSE BOTH ARE BLACK." END TEXT. VANCE

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